

## The U.N.'s Anniversary: 'A New Commitment, a Fresh Start'

## Transcript of the President's Address to the General Assembly

Following is a transcript of President Reagan's speech yesterday to the United Nations General Assembly, as recorded by The New York Times.

Forty years ago, the world awoke during the belief that the unyielding grip had finally been broken, daring to believe the torch of peace would be passed in liberty's firm grasp. Forty years ago, the world yearned to dream again innocent dreams, to believe in ideals with innocent trust. Dreams of trust are worthy, but in these 40 years too many dreams have been shattered, too many promises have been broken, too many lives have been lost. The painful truth is that the use of violence to take, to execute and to preserve power remains a persistent reality in much of the world.

The vision of the U.N. Charter — to spare succeeding generations this scourge of war — remains real. It still stirs our souls and warms our hearts. But it also demands of us a realism that is rock-hard, clear-eyed, steady and sure, a realism that understands the nations of the United Nations are not united.

I come before you this morning preoccupied with peace, with insuring that the differences between some of us not be permitted to degenerate into open conflict. And I come offering from my own country a new commitment, a fresh start.

## We Acknowledge Successes

On this U.N. anniversary we acknowledge its successes: the decisive action during the Korean War, negotiation of the Nonproliferation Treaty, strong support for decolonization, and the laudable achievements by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Nor must we close our eyes to this organization's disappointments: its failure to deal with real security issues, the total inversion of morality in the infamous Zimlistin-racist resolution, the polarization of too many agencies, the misuse of too many resources.

The U.N. is a political institution and politics requires compromise. We recognize that. But let us remember: from those first days, one guiding star was supposed to light our path toward the U.N. vision of peace and progress — the star of freedom.

What kind of people will we be 40 years from today? May we answer: free people, worthy of freedom and firm in the conviction that freedom is not the sole prerogative of a chosen few, but the universal right of all God's children.

This is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights set forth in 1948. And this is the affirming flame the United States has held high to the rest of the world. We champion freedom not only because it is practical and beneficial, but because it is morally right and just.

## Free People Do Not Wage War

Free people, whose governments rest upon the consent of the governed, do not wage war on the basis of greed. Free people, blessed by economic opportunity, and protected by laws that respect the dignity of every citizen, are not driven toward the domination of others.

We readily acknowledge that the United States is far from perfect. Yet we have endeavored earnestly to carry out our responsibilities to the Charter, these past 40 years. We make national pride in our contributions to peace.

We take pride in 40 years of helping avert a new world war and pride in our alliances that protect and preserve us and our friends from aggression. We take pride in the Camp David agreements and our efforts for peace in the Middle East rooted in Resolutions 242 and 338, and in the peace process in the Middle East, Pakistan, target of outside intimidation; in assisting El Salvador's struggle to carry forward its democratic revolution; in assisting the peoples of the Caribbean friends in Grenada; in seeing Grenada's representatives here today, voting with the rest of the people. And we take pride in our proposals to reduce the weapons of war.

We look to Future Plans

We submit this history as evidence of our sincerity of purpose. But today it is more important to speak to you about what my country proposes to do, in these closing years of the 20th century, to bring about a safer, a more peaceful, a more civilized world.

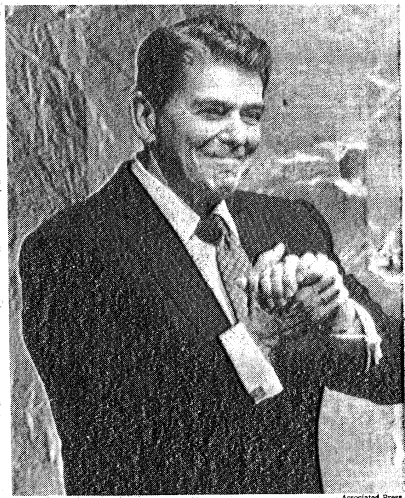
Let us begin with candor, and with words that rest on plain and simple facts. The differences between America and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding.

The United States is a democratic nation. Here the people rule. We build no walls to keep them in, nor organize any system of police to keep them mute. We occupy no country. The only land abroad we occupy is beneath the graves where our heroes rest. What is called the West is a voluntary association of free nations, all of whom fiercely value their independence and their sovereignty. And as deeply as we cherish our beliefs, we do not seek to compel others to share them.

When we enjoy these vast freedoms as we do, it's difficult for us to understand the restrictions of dictatorships which seek to control each institution and every facet of the people's lives, the expression of their beliefs, their movements, and their contacts with the outside world. It's difficult for us to understand the ideological frustration that force is an acceptable way to expand a political system.

## Natural Competition? Seen

We Americans do not accept that any government has the right to command and order the lives of its people, that any nation has a, an historic right to use force to export its ideology. This belief, regarding the nature of man and the limitations of government, is at the core of our deep and abiding differences with the Soviet



AFTER THE SPEECH: President Reagan acknowledging the applause following his address yesterday at the United Nations.

Union, differences that put us into natural conflict and competition with one another.

Now, we would welcome enthusiastically a true competition of ideas, welcome a competition of economic strength and scientific and artistic creativity, and yes, welcome a competition for the good will of the world's people. But we cannot accommodate ourselves to the use of force and subversion to consolidate and expand the reach of totalitarianism.

When Mr. Gorbachev and I meet in Geneva next month, I look to a fresh start in the relationship of our two nations. We can and should meet in the spirit that we can deal with our differences peacefully. That is what we expect.

The only way to resolve differences is to understand them. We must have candid and complete discussions of where dangers exist and where peace is being disrupted. Make no mistake: our policy is to pursue a vigorous competition rests on a realistic view of the world. And therefore, at Geneva, but because it is morally right and just.

Review of Weapons Accords

For example, in 1972 the international community negotiated in good faith a ban on biological and toxin weapons; in 1975 we negotiated the Helsinki accords on human rights and respect for the dignity of every citizen; in 1978, the United States and the Soviet Union negotiated several agreements on strategic weapons. And yet, we feel it will be necessary at Geneva to discuss with the Soviet Union what we believe are violations of a number of the provisions in all of these agreements. Indeed, this is why it is important that we have this opportunity to air our differences through face-to-face meetings, to let frank talk substitute for anger and tension.

The United States has never sought to force its military to paper over differences. We continue to believe that a nuclear war is one that cannot be won and must never be fought. And that is why we have sought, for nearly 10 years, still seek and will discuss in Geneva radical, equitable, verifiable reductions in these vast arsenals of offensive nuclear weapons.

At the beginning of the latest round of the Western nations and the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union presented a specific proposal involving numerical values. We are studying this Soviet counterproposal carefully. I believe that within their proposal there are seeds which we should nurture, and in the coming weeks we will seek to establish a genuine process of give and take.

The United States is also seeking to discuss with the Soviet Union in Geneva the vital relationship between offensive and defensive systems, including the possibility of moving toward a more stable and secure world in which defenses play a growing role.

Most Awful Weapon

The ballistic missile is the most awesome, threatening, and destructive weapon in the history of man. Thus, I welcome the interest of the new Soviet leadership in the reduction of offensive strategic forces. Ultimately, we must remove this menace of whom fiercely value their independence and their sovereignty. And as deeply as we cherish our beliefs, we do not seek to compel others to share them.

How is Moscow threatened if the capitalists of other nations are protected? We do not ask that the Soviet leaders — whose country has suffered so much from war — to leave the people defenseless against foreign attack. Why then do they insist that we remain undefended? Who is threatened by Western research and Soviet research that is itself well advanced should develop a non-nuclear system which would threaten not human beings, but only ballistic missiles?

Surely, the world will sleep more secure when these missiles have been rendered useless, militarily and ideologically, when the Sword of Damocles that has hung over our planet for too

many decades is lifted by Western and Russian scientists working to shield their citizens and one day shut down space as an avenue of weapons of mass destruction.

## Weapons Can Destroy Us Both

If we're destined by history to compete, militarily, to keep the peace, then let us compete in systems that defend our societies rather than weapons which can destroy us both, and much of God's creation along with us.

Some 15 years ago, then-Premier Alexei Kosygin was asked about a moratorium on the development of an antimissile defense system. The official news agency, Tass, reported that he replied with these words:

"I believe that defensive systems, which prevent attack, are not the cause of the arms race, but constitute a factor preventing the death of people. Maybe an antimissile system is more expensive than an offensive system, but it is designed not to kill people but to preserve human lives. Quoting Alexei Kosygin."

No Peace More Fundamental?

Preserving lives. No peace is more fundamental than that. Great obstacles lie ahead, but they should not deter us. Peace is God's commandment. Peace is the holy shadow cast by men on the path of virtue.

But just as we all know what peace is, we certainly know what peace is not.

A peace based on repression cannot be true peace and is secure only when individuals are free to direct their own governments.

Peace based on partition cannot be true peace. Put simply: Nothing can justify the continuing and permanent division of the European continent. Walls of partition and distrust must give way to greater communication for an open world. Before leaving for Geneva, I shall make new proposals to achieve this goal.

Peace based on mutual fear cannot be true peace because staking our future on a precarious balance of terror is not good enough. The world needs a balance of safety.

And finally, a peace based on averting our eyes from trouble cannot be true peace. The consequences of conflict are every bit as tragic when the destruction is contained within one country.

He Describes Initiative

Real peace is what we seek, and that is why today the United States is presenting an initiative that addresses what will be a central issue in

Geneva: the issue of regional conflicts in Africa, Asia and Central America.

Our own position is clear: As the oldest nation of the New World, as the first anticolonial power, the United States rejected when decolonization gave birth to so many new nations after World War II. We have always supported the right of the people of each nation to define their own destiny. We have given \$300 billion since 1945 to help people of other countries. And we've tried to help friendly governments defend against aggression, subversion and terror.

We have noted with great interest and similar expressions of peaceful intent by leaders of the Soviet Union. I am not here to challenge the good faith of what they say. But isn't it important for us to weigh the record, as well?

In Afghanistan, there are 118,000 Soviet troops prosecuting war against the Afghan people.

In Cambodia, 140,000 Soviet-backed Vietnamese soldiers wage a war of occupation.

In Ethiopia, 1,700 Soviet advisers are involved in military planning and support operations along with 2,500 Cuban combat troops.

In Angola, 1,200 Soviet military advisers are involved in planning and supervising combat operations, along with 35,000 Cuban troops.

In Nicaragua, some 8,000 Soviet bloc and Cuban personnel, including about 3,500 military and secret police personnel.

Consequence of an Ideology

All of these conflicts, some of them under way for a decade, originate in local disputes but they share a common characteristic: they are the consequence of an ideology imposed from without, dividing nations and creating regimes that are, almost every day they take power, at war with their own people. And in each case, Marxism-Leninism's war with the people becomes war with their neighbors.

These wars are exacting a staggering human toll and threaten to spill across national boundaries and trigger dangerous confrontations. Where is it more appropriate than right here in the United Nations to make a contribution to Article 2 of our Charter, which instructs members to refrain "from the use, or threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state."

During the past decade these wars played a large role in building suspicions and tensions in my country over the purpose of Soviet policy. This gives us an extra reason to address them seriously today.

Last year I proposed from this podium that the United States and the Soviet Union hold discussions on the causes of these wars, and we have done so. But I believe these problems need more than talk.

Progress on Three Levels

For that reason, I am proposing, and are fully committed to support, a regional peace process that seeks progress on three levels:

First, we believe the starting point must be a process of negotiation among the warring parties in each country. I've mentioned, which, in the case of Afghanistan, includes the Soviet Union. The form of these talks may and should vary, but negotiations and an improvement of internal political conditions are essential to achieving an end to violence, the withdrawal of foreign troops and national reconciliation.

There is a second level. Once negotiations take hold and the parties directly involved are making real progress, representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union should meet to discuss the progress of the negotiations.

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## Reagan-Klinghoffer Visit

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Oct. 24 — The White House announced today that the family of Leon Klinghoffer would visit President Reagan on Friday in his suite at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, said Mr. Reagan wanted to express his condolences to the Klinghoffer family while the President is in New York. Mr. Klinghoffer, a wheelchair-bound New Yorker, was killed during the takeover of the Achille Lauro, the Italian cruise ship.

Mr. Speakes said the President wanted to hear the "concerns" of Marilyn Klinghoffer, the widow of Mr. Klinghoffer. Mr. Reagan will emphasize "what we will do to try to see events of this kind do not happen again," said Mr. Speakes.

Among those scheduled to attend the meeting are Mrs. Klinghoffer and her two daughters, Lisa Arbutnot and Lisa Klinghoffer.

Mr. Reagan and his wife, Nancy, are scheduled to leave New York soon after meeting the Klinghoffer family.

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